Chapter III

TRANSFORMATION IN THE EDUCATIONAL SECTOR
Achutha Menon gave top priority for the efforts to improve the educational development of the state. Even though the state of Kerala was far ahead of the other states in India in the field of education, Kerala had not progressed qualitatively up to the expectations. This was the view held by Achutha Menon regarding the educational development of the state. There were two Universities in Kerala which were affiliating a large number of arts and science colleges and a limited number of Engineering and Medical colleges. Among the Arts and Science Colleges majority of them were under the private managements. Majority of the private managements were mainly involved in the protection of the interest of their own communities. They were not sincerely interested in the welfare of the students and teachers. The teachers in the private colleges were not properly paid as per the norms and regulations prescribed by the government and universities. They could not get the salary which was drawn by their counterparts in the government colleges. Students in the private colleges had to pay higher fees when compared to the students in the government colleges. Unification of fee by bringing a uniform fees structure in both government and private colleges was the only solution to the problem. Similarly the government could solve the pitiable conditions
of the private college teachers by implementing the direct payment of salary by the government. Achutha Menon was not against the system of government payments to the teachers of private colleges. But the government could not take up such a heavy financial burden without introducing some control over the appointments of teachers and the admission of the students. These problems were solved permanently by the direct involvement of the Chief Minister during his period of administration. These reforms had introduced some changes in the field of higher education with far-reaching consequences. The establishment of two specialized universities namely the Agricultural University and Cochin University of Science and Technology were aimed to bring the state on par with developed societies.

The Ruling Front had to face great opposition from within its rank when the Assembly considered the amendments controlling the rights of the minorities to control the educational institutions granted by the constitution. The proposal was to make an amendment in the Article 30(1) of the Constitution. The Muslim League and Kerala Congress opposed the amendments. The Youth Congress supported the bill. When the case of private colleges came up the managements belonging to
Christian organizations, Nair Service Society and SNDP came forward opposing the bill. They openly announced that no government which had dared to interfere in the affairs of the private managements had survived. The Pattom ministry in 1952, Panampally ministry in 1955 and the Communist ministry in 1957 failed in their attempt to bring about drastic changes in the control of educational institutions. Achutha Menon was in favour of bringing control over the working of educational institutions but was not prepared to break the coalition government on that issue. He left the problem to the consideration of the constituent parties.

**Agitation of College teachers**

During the time of Achutha Menon many issues came into prominence in the field of education. He had a clear vision of education in all its areas and he had well-thought out ideas about them. He was the person to take the final decision in almost all the issues which were raised in the field of education. The demand of college and university teachers to implement the UGC pay scale could not be implemented as such in Kerala because the college teachers especially in the private sector were not up to the mark as far as the UGC criteria was concerned. The college teachers in
the private sector were appointed by the managements after receiving huge amounts of donation from them. The only criteria which was applicable to them was the minimum qualification prescribed by the university and the maximum amount of money they were capable of paying to the management. The UGC pay scale recommended by the commission was to improve the academic qualifications of the teachers and to attract talented and highly qualified people to the teaching profession. Moreover they were expected to spend more time for the academic and non academic activities of the students. The college teachers both in the government sector and private sector were not prepared to accept the academic rules and regulations of the UGC scale but were only concerned about the financial benefit provided by the scheme. Most of the college teachers were engaged in private business, private tuitions and other activities which increased their unauthorized income. They gave more attention to their non-academic activities than their concern about the future of the student whom they taught. In the case of teachers in government colleges they were appointed by Public Service Commission which was expected to follow certain specific rules and regulations regarding the qualification of teachers. They were appointed only after proper interviews conducted by
qualified people who were capable of testing the academic qualifications and teaching ability of the candidates. In the case of appointments of teachers in the private colleges, teachers with minimum qualification were directly appointed by the managements without conducting proper interview. In most of the cases the teachers selected were either the people who could satisfy the demands of the managements either by paying huge amount of money as donations or the people who could satisfy other demands made by the managements. After getting appointments as lecturers their primary motive was to find out the means through which they could make money to compensate the amount they had paid to the managements.

Another important problem faced by the college teachers was the payment of salaries. In the case of government college teachers they were paid from the government treasury. In the case of private college teachers they were expected to get equal salary drawn by the government college teachers but the private college managements never made the full payment to them and they were not paid their salaries in time. There were teachers working under the private managements who were not paid for months together.
It was under these circumstances that the college teachers working under the private colleges demanded the implementation of UGC pay scale along with university teachers and government college teachers who were appointed through proper criteria. Achutha Menon was fully aware of the conditions prevailing in the private colleges and the difficulties faced by the teachers under them but he always stood for high academic excellence among the teaching community in the higher education sector. He was also aware that most of the teachers in the private colleges did not deserve to get the UGC scale which was a package of academic excellence, students empowerment and high salaries to attract talented people for the teaching profession.

The All Kerala Private College Teachers Associations gave leadership to an agitation compelling the government to implement the UGC pay scale. In Kerala majority of the colleges were under the private sector. Out of the 115 colleges in Kerala 104 colleges were under private managements. Out of the 124000 college students 120000 were studying in private colleges\(^1\). When the private college teachers started the agitation the colleges were closed down indefinitely. When the government college
teachers joined the agitation all the colleges in Kerala stopped functioning creating a critical situation in higher education.

The private college teachers agitation began on 15th September 1971 demanding direct payment of salary by the government. They argued that the only and final solution to their problem was direct payment of their salary by the government. Teachers in private colleges in the state were not getting the salary which was prescribed for them by the authorities on the basis of their qualifications and experience. Moreover teachers were compelled to pay huge amount of money as donation at the time of appointment. The agitation began to gain popular support when the political wings of the Congress Party, the Youth Congress and the Kerala Students Union gave their support to the teachers. Higher education was completely paralyzed when the students also joined the teachers in the strikes.

Political Parties within the coalition government began to take different attitude towards the agitation. The Congress party had sympathy towards the teachers because it had the full support of the Youth Congress and KSU but some of the leaders of the Congress had some vested interest in the matter because they represented the interests of the managements.
The CPI was basically in favour of the college teachers but it could not take an open stand because it was heading a coalition which included the representatives of the very interests of the people who were running the colleges. Achutha Menon took a strong and principled stand on the issue. He said that the government was prepared to pay the teachers directly provided it was given reasonable control over the appointments of teachers and admissions of the students. He was very particular that if the private teachers were paid by the government they could be subjected to follow the guidelines prescribed for the appointments of government college teachers. The Chief Minister held discussions with the representatives of the managements, teachers and students to find out a solution to the agitation. The discussions did not produce any results. The managements refused to accept any control over them in the matters of appointments of teachers and admission of students. This compelled the government to take a strong decision to end the strike and it announced a package deal on 7th November 1971.

According to the package, the Government issued the following conditions.
1) The government would make direct payments to teachers under managements who conceded to the effective control of the government in the admissions and appointments.

2) From the following academic year onwards fees in government and private colleges will be equalized.

3) A commission will be set up to find out the defects in the grant-in-aid code without, of course, increasing the amount.

4) Existing rules of the University regarding payment of salary, collection of fees etc. will be implemented through statutory measures.

5) New regulations will be enacted to make sure that salary is paid properly and in time in colleges which were not prepared to accept government intervention. A tribunal will be set up to try cases of violation.

6) In the case of delay on the part of the tribunal to settle problems of teachers who are not paid in time the government would pay the teachers a sum not more than the grant-in-aid, as salary\(^7\).
The package issued by the government did not solve the problem of the agitating teachers because the managements were not prepared to accept it. The government insisted that the managements should accept the proposals given by the government. The public opinion were also in favour of the government. Taking into consideration that the government style was correct the Youth Congress and KSU withdrew from the strike.

The new developments began to create a split within the All Kerala Private College Association. K.M Chandy, the president of the association was a Congress leader. He and his followers were convinced that the step of the government was the only possible solution it could afford. So the section of the college teachers who supported K.M. Chandy withdrew from the strike. Prof. R.Ramachandran Nair the General Secretary of the association was a leader of the Marxist Party and his followers decided to continue the strike. Prof K.M Chandy resigned from the presidency of the association.

The new developments within the teachers association stood in favour of the decision taken by the government. Public opinion also was against continuing the strike by the teachers obstructing the education of
the students. The association found it difficult to continue the agitation under the changed circumstances. They called off the strike after getting assurance from the government that their demand for direct payment would be looked into sympathetically and favourably\textsuperscript{11}.

In all the developments that took place after the strike of the private college teachers, Achutha Menon was the key figure throughout. He took a firm and principled stand that the government could not pay salary to the teachers who were appointed by the private managements following no proper criteria. Moreover, he expressed his views openly that many of the private college teachers were not deserving the UGC pay scale because they were not qualified for it\textsuperscript{12}. Many of the private college teachers were engaged in private business. Further if they were granted direct payment it would increase the rate of donation for the appointments of teachers worsening the present situation. Therefore Achutha Menon emphatically denied direct payment to the private college teachers without introducing specific control over the appointments by the government. Later when the government granted the direct payment to the college teachers the managements were compelled to agree to the control over the appointments of teachers and admissions of the students. It was the strong
stand taken by Achutha Menon that increased the social status of the teachers. Now the private college teachers are on par with government colleges in service conditions including pensionery benefits.

**Equalization of fee**

The agitation for the equalization of fee in private and government colleges launched by the students was part of the teachers strike for direct payment. The demand of the students was just because there was a lot of difference between the fee structure that existed in government and private colleges. Very often the private college students were compelled to pay different kinds of fees which were unauthorised. The students supported the teachers in their strike for direct payment on condition that the fee should be equalised. They later withdrew from the agitation when the government promised equalization of fee from the next academic year. When the next academic year began Kerala Students Union and Youth Congress came forward with their demand. The private college managements which owned the majority of colleges in the state were not prepared to accept any control from the government. Many of the private colleges belonged to minority communities who had special
constitutional rights to run their educational institutions. Finally they came forward with a solution to the problem. They agreed to collect the fee from the students and deposit it with the government provided the government was willing to take up the responsibility of paying teachers from the treasury. The Chief Minister interfered by saying that the government could not take up such a heavy financial involvement without proper conditions. The college managements decided not to reopen the colleges after the holidays unless they were compensated with government grants for the loss of income due to fees unification.

The Chief Minister was not willing to concede to the demand of the private colleges. According to him if the government took up the responsibility of direct payment to the teachers it would be a heavy financial burden for it. The government could not take such a decision because it had no control over the private managements. The teachers were appointed by the managements after receiving huge amounts as donations from them. The donations would be increased if the government paid their salary. The Chief Minister came forward with a proposal according to which the government was willing to pay the teachers directly on the condition that it was given effective control over appointment of teachers.
and admission of students. The Chief Minister was of the strong opinion that the government could not meet all the expenses of running the private colleges without maintaining any control over them.

The fee structure prevailing in Government and private colleges in Kerala was highly contradictory in many ways. The private colleges were levying different kinds of fee from the students at the time of admission, monthly and at different occasions. There was no uniformity between colleges in the collection of fee. Heavy fee was collected from the students in spite of the fact that 80% grant was paid by the government for the yearly expenditure incurred by the managements. Moreover, the responsibility of running the courses was mainly managed by the university. Taking into account all these factors proper government control was necessary over private colleges. Tuition and other fee imposed on students should also be brought under control. As per the Padmakumar Commission report, the managements have hiked the rate of fee they were collecting. When compared to the government colleges, the private colleges were collecting Rs 173/- more for Post Graduate courses and Rs 39/- more for Pre-Degree courses. Oommen Chandy, while submitting a resolution for fee unification pointed out that the actual
collection of fee was two and three times more than the above mentioned. This method of squeezing the parents by the managements was quite unjustifiable. Under these circumstances, Oommen Chandy, demanded the fee unification of the government and private colleges as an inevitable step to be taken by the government.

A.K Antony also spoke in the Assembly supporting the resolution introduced by Oommen Chandy. In his speech he pointed out that the private colleges were exploiting the people. He said that the private agencies were running the colleges in the name of service. But they were, actually running business and the government should not allow it. He pointed that the managements were collecting donations from the parents for admissions on a very large scale. This system began with the admission to the schools. He exhorted for the immediate end to this business in the field of education. The system of donation for admissions should be stopped. Antony had no hesitation to say that if the state government could not stop this evil practice of donation there was no need of such a government. According to him the managers who collected donations from the students should be arrested and put in jails. He insisted that fee unification was the only solution to the problem. He also
suggested that when the government wanted to start colleges they should be confined to government sector and not under private managements.

The Chief Minister was in a difficult situation because some of the ruling partners were with the managements. The Kerala Congress which had a strong connection with the Christian Community which owned many of the colleges was against any steps against the managements. The Muslim League, another ruling partner also could not stand with the government due to the pressure from the Muslim managements. However, the Congress and its youth and students wings and the main opposition, Communist Party of India (Marxist) also supported the government. All the religious and Caste Organizations who had vested interests strongly supported the managements.

The government was between the devil and the deep sea. The colleges remained closed for many days and higher education in the state was in complete disorder. It could not take over the private colleges like any other public institutions because the minority communities had constitutional protection under Article 30(1), a provision to run educational institutions as they liked.
The attitude of the Congress and its allied organizations was to outwit others in their radical attitude. The Youth Congress had gone to the level of asking for constitutional amendments for bringing the minority managements under control-a step which could be considered to be extreme and unadvisable. The KPCC also adopted a tough line demanding bringing education under public sector. The Liaison Committee also made a resolution requesting the government to take up the colleges under the erring managements. The managements on their part organized volunteer forces to protect their institutions.

The struggle for fee unification entered a critical stage when all the students unions declared an indefinite strike on 14th June 1972. The Pro Congress student Union KSU also came to the war front by declaring a strike on 17th June. The government had no other way than taking a strong action. It issued an ordinance directing both Kerala and Calicut Universities to unify the fee on 26th June. Though the government colleges reopened after the summer holidays the private colleges remained closed. The students continued to go on with the agitation. Finally better sense prevailed due to the conciliatory efforts of Muslim League. They came to an agreement which did not curtail the minority rights of the managements.
and without hurting the government stand demanding more control over appointments and admissions. Finally an agreement was reached between the government and managements and the agitation came to an end. As per the agreement the government and Universities had gained control over the appointments of teachers and admissions of students. On their part the government agreed to pay the salary of the teachers from the treasury.

Chief Minister Achutha Menon was the first person to raise the issue of government control over appointments and admissions of students if the government was to pay the salary of the teachers directly. In spite of all the ups and downs of the agitation he was not prepared to come down from this point. He could not tolerate a situation when the managements were allowed to retain their absolute power over appointments while the government was bound to pay the salary. The paying authority must have the power to control the appointments. This was the strong stand taken by the Chief Minister and he could see to it that his stand was accepted.

In spite of the difference of opinion between the ruling partners they all stood together to solve the problems. The Congress adopted a leftist line under the leadership of A. K. Antony. Kerala
Congress and Muslim League had to toe the line of their communities which run the colleges. But all of them came to the rescue of the Chief Minister when the crisis assumed higher proportions. It goes to the credit of the leader of the coalition who always stood for justice and pragmatic solution. Though he belonged to the Communist Party of India, he was not prepared to argue for the amendment of the constitution to cancel clause 30(1), to control the minorities as demanded by the outspoken Congress leader. He played the role of a co-coordinator between the political parties. At the same time he was not prepared to compromise on the role of the government if it was compelled to accept direct payment of teachers. He was successful in convincing all the parties his arguments in favour of government control over the managements if salary payments became its responsibility.

**Agricultural University**

The establishment of an Agricultural University was one of the long cherished desires of Achutha Menon. Taking into consideration the importance given by the people of the state for agricultural products the existing system was not sufficient. So he had to take quick decisions
and implement them without much delay. Such quick decision taken by the authorities would naturally create some complications. As an efficient administrator Achutha Menon had to take immediate action in certain cases. If proper action was not taken in proper time there was possibility of complications which might lead to the total collapse of the project. Due to the unexpected developments arising out of such situations the very programme would face difficulties. Timely decisions were an important factor in such situations. When the decision to start an agricultural university in Kerala was taken, the Chief Minister wanted to take immediate step for its implementation. The first and foremost step for starting a new university was to find out a proper location for it. The university required more than 600 acres of land with amenities of roads, water and other facilities. As the Chief Minister, Achutha Menon took personal interest in finding out a location for the university and finally found Thattil estate in Trichur district as a suitable place for it. Since the establishment of an agricultural university in the state was a prestigious project of the government, it was natural that the Chief Minister took special interest in it. In Kerala land acquisition for a project was a most complicated issue in which many interests from different quarters had to
be taken into account. Usually it took many years to overcome the difficulties attached with it. Fully aware of these aspects well in advance the Chief Minister took special interest in the process of land acquisition for the university. All the initial formalities were completed within record time and agreement was reached between the government and the landowners. No other government in Kerala had acquired such vast areas of land for university within such a short period of time. Many vested interests including agents, political pressure groups and landowners used to play a significant role in the process of acquisition of land for any government projects. In this case such people were purposefully avoided. Even the opposition partly smelt a rat in the whole episode and began to make an issue leading to a debate in the Assembly. Achutha Menon was accused of corruption and favouritism in the process of land acquisition with unusual haste. V.S Achuthananthan and K.M Mani raised the issue in the Assembly\textsuperscript{27}. Their complaint was regarding the unusual haste of the Chief Minister in approving the report of the special officer who was appointed to study the details and suitability of the land.
Achutha Menon gave a detailed reply for the arguments put forward by the opposition parties. In his reply he asserted his views regarding the proper procedure followed in the process. According to him the only complaint of the opposition was regarding the quick decision taken in the case. He explained to the members that a good administrator was one who took quick action after proper investigation. In the case of allegations by the opposition parties regarding the undue haste in purchasing the land for the Agricultural University, were baseless because the decision was taken after studying the report submitted by the enquiry commission appointed for the purpose. Immediate action on the report was due to a number of reasons. The idea of agricultural university for Kerala was in the air since 1956 and no government was able to take any step regarding it. The authorities of Indian Council for Agricultural Research made many enquiries regarding the feasibility of establishing a University in Kerala. Mr Achuthan, the secretary of ICAR came into Kerala, examined the proposed land earmarked for the university and expressed satisfaction over it. He also promised sufficient funds for it. The circumstances were favourable and if the government failed to take proper action in time the proposal might be cancelled. It was under these
situations the government took special interest in the case. The Chief Minister expressed surprise over the reaction of the opposition members when the government wanted to take proper action in proper time for the establishment of an educational and research institution which was highly necessary for the development of agriculture in the state\textsuperscript{30}. All the administrative proceedings regarding the real value of the land required for the purpose were going on and final settlement would be done when all the formalities were completed. No financial commitment was made by the government. No final decision was taken till the existing government resigned from power on August, 1\textsuperscript{st} 1971\textsuperscript{31}.

Two allegations were raised against Achutha Menon in the Assembly. One was that he had some vested interest in taking the land of Thattil estate for the University. Secondly Achutha Menon had appointed his relative in an important position in T.T.C. The person appointed was none other than C. Achuthan, the son in law of Achutha Menon\textsuperscript{32}. Another person from the family of Avukkader Kutty Naha, Muslim League Minister, was also appointed illegally. The reports submitted by two IAS officers Ramankutty and Narayana Swamy were supporting their
arguments. On the basis of this allegation the opposition parties led by CPM wanted to introduce a no confidence motion against the government.

Achutha Menon listened carefully to all the allegations raised against him by the opposition leaders. When he was given an opportunity to answer the allegations, he said that the findings of the reports could not be taken for granted. He answered that he had never interfered in the appointments of TTC. He also agreed to take necessary action if any irregularities were found in the appointments\(^\text{33}\).

The members in the Assembly were fully aware that C. Achutha Menon would never go down to the level of interfering with the appointment. Later EMS himself came forward with a statement that the Chief Minister could not be accused in the land allotment and TTC appointment cases\(^\text{34}\).

**Cochin University**

The preliminary step for the creation of the Cochin University was taken by the EMS ministry of 1967-69. The university was established when Achutha Menon became the Chief Minister. The university was unique in many respects when compared to the other
existing universities of affiliating nature. The new concepts of Cochin University were formulated from the ideas of higher education in the mind of Achutha Menon. It was conceptualized as a federal University to promote science industry and technology based on research and development. Achutha Menon declared in the Assembly, “In the Cochin city it is proposed to form the new university considering the environments of the Cochin Industrial area for handling technological subjects”35. The university was aimed at connecting the specialized constituent colleges to form federal university, not affiliating too many colleges. Necessary rules were included in the Bill making the university different from other universities. The university was given the authority to recognize all the industrial firms in the greater Cochin areas as the integral parts of the university. It was also intended to use their facilities as well as the cooperation of the experts from the institution for the benefit of the university36.

Usually the existing universities of Kerala consisted of a number of affiliating colleges and they were only under nominal control of the university. The specialty of the Cochin University was that it had only constituent colleges working jointly by establishing laboratories
equipped like those of universities, appointing highly qualified teachers and co-operate in teaching together. On all India basis there were only very few federal universities like those of Delhi and Banglore. By establishing such a unique centre of higher education Achutha Menon wanted to have a centre of excellence in science and technology which could be raised to the level of Indian Institute of Technology.

**Bharata Ratnam**

Throughout the period of existence of the coalition government, each one of the partners raised issues whenever they found that their self-respect was questioned. Indian Union Muslim League was generally calm and quiet when compared to other parties. They closed their eyes towards issues like prohibition and supported the stand taken by the Government when it increased the excise duties levied from liquor though they were basically against it in principle. But they could not tolerate when their religious sentiments were questioned. The party was highly irritated in the developments that took place in Kerala in 1973 regarding the decision of the Education Department to withdraw a non-detailed text book prescribed for standard VIII in schools. The book was a
summarized edition of ‘Bharat Ratnam’ a biography of Jawaharlal Nehru written by G.Govindha Pillai. There was a passage in the text book which described Nehru’s concern over Muslim League acquiring strength under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah during pre-partition period. The passage went on to explain the slogan of the party ‘Pakistan is our right’. According to Nehru it obstructed the freedom movement in collusion with the British administration. It further stated that Jinnah’s call for direct action in 1946 sparked off communal riots and created a blood bath.

Actually Nehru was referring to the Muslim League of the pre-partition days and it had nothing to do with the Muslim League which was formed in Malabar with different objectives. The Indian Union Muslim League had nothing to do with the Muslim League of Jinnah which stood for the separation. It found the passages objectionable because it questioned their patriotism. It demanded the immediate withdrawal of the text book from the school syllabus. Due to the pressure from Muslim League which was handling the education portfolio, the department had already issued orders for the cautious teaching of the controversial passages in the book. When the book was reprinted in 1973 the
controversial passages mentioned in the book were removed. The government also decided that the book *Bharat Ratna* would be withdrawn from the syllabus from the next academic year\(^4\).

The issue regarding the text book *‘Bharat Ratna’* was almost settled but for the interference of the student and youth wings of the Congress. The student wing of the Congress, Kerala Students Union demanded that the book should be retained in the syllabus without deleting any passage from it\(^4\). For many days it was an issue of public interest which was highlighted by the press. The national media also took up the issue and made it a topic of national discourse.

The Congress leadership alleged that the decision to withdraw the book was taken unilaterally without consulting with other member parties of the coalition. It was a decision taken by the Indian Union Muslim League minister who was handling the education portfolio without discussing the matter with his cabinet colleagues or the Liaison committee of the coalition. Thus arbitrary action on the part of the education minister had tarnished the image of the coalition government.
Another argument raised by the Congress was the historical facts regarding the reference made in the book regarding the role of Muslim League in the National Movement. They emphasized that the role of Muslim League during the pre-partition days was definitely in favour of the partition. They accepted the fact that the character and attitude of Indian Union Muslim League in Kerala which was their partner in the coalition government would have changed from Jinnah’s League. But historical facts could not be denied due to the change of attitude. The party was of the firm opinion that it could not allow anyone to reject history. The Pro-Congress students boycotted classes to protest against the attitude of the government\(^45\). Muslim Students Federation, students wing of the Muslim League, took an opposite stand by demanding the total withdrawal of the book\(^46\). The difference of opinion between the coalition partners especially between the Congress and Muslim League became further complicated when the party leadership began to express their views. A.K.Antony, the State President of the Congress party expressed his disagreement with the steps taken by the education minister. He said that the minister should have consulted with the Liaison Committee before taking such a drastic step\(^47\). The leaders of the Muslim League also took up
the issue. Sayed Umar Bafakki Thangal, the Vice President of the League had gone to the extent of stating that the ideology of the Muslim League had no differences from that of the League of the pre–independent League\(^48\). There were opinions arising from some quarters of the Congress to break away from the coalition on this issue as the party could not compromise its stand on nationalism.

When the situation reached a breaking point, the Liaison Committee took up the issue and found a solution. The Education Minister took the initiative in solving the problem. The book was allowed to continue after removing the controversial passages. The future course of action would also be decided by the Liaison Committee during the next academic year\(^49\).

When the controversy was going on the Chief Minister maintained a studied silence. Though he had his own opinion regarding the issue he purposefully avoided to give expression to his views because it was his responsibility to keep the coalition intact. If he had openly expressed his views it would have hurt the feelings of one party and it would have further complicated the issue. As a leader of the coalition consisting different political parties with different ideologies he should
show maturity and extreme restrain. If the leader gave his support to any group the coalition would have broken up easily. Therefore, he left the matter to be settled down by the Liaison Committee. His decision was proved to be right when the problem was solved amicably by the Liaison Committee through the initiative of the Education Minister.
Notes and Reference

4. *Ibid*
5. Press Communication issued by the Chief Minister on 27th November 1971
7. Press Communication issued by the government of Kerala, November 8, 1971
8. *Malayala Manorama* 8th November 1971, Kottayam
10. *Desabhimani*, Ernakulam, November 9, 1971
12. Interview with C. Achutha Menon by R. Venu Gopalan Nair, Thrichur
15. *Ibid*


17. Padmakumar Commission, 1966

18. *Legisitative Assembly proceeding*, April 2, 1971

19. Padmakumar Commission


22. *Ibid*

23. *Ibid*


27. *PKLA*, 7th April 1971 p. 1833


29. *Ibid*

30. *Ibid*, p. 1828

31. *Ibid*, p. 1829

32. *PKLA*, 7th April 1971 p. 1754

33. *Ibid*, p. 1831
34. Thekkum Bhagom Mohan, op. cit, p.112
35. PKLA, Vol.XXVII, p.3123
36. Ibid, p.3123
37. Ibid, p.3123
38. Kerala Kaumudi, Thiruvananthapuram, July 14, 1973
39. G. Govinda Pillai, Bharat Ratnam, Kottayam, 1970, p.64
41. Ibid
42. Notification issued by the DPI, 1972.
45. Malayala Manorama, Kottayam, July 5, 1973
46. Chandrika Daily, Calicut, July 4th, 1973
47. Mathrubhumi, Ernakulam, July 4th, 1973